1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 186 Ifalik

"The people are keenly aware of their unity, and proud of it. True, they have also some fellow-feeling for the inhabitants of neighboring atolls; 'all same one people', as Tom said more than once in concluding the legends about repopulation of the neighboring islands from Ifalik. But, as the legends also show, they like to think of themselves, and to have others think of them, as a little superior to the others. They even manage to look down, in at least two respects, on the people of Yap, who admittedly outrank them. 'To talk like a Yap man' is one way of saying 'to lie.' And the suspicion and dissension said to prevail among different districts in Yap are contrasted with Ifalik's solidarity."

"As already noted, even those who can not claim superiority in the local hierarchy of rank share the glory of outranking other islands. The main point of the legends about depopulation and repopulation of surrounding islands is, in Tom's words 'Ifalik more high.' The most conspicuous visible symbol on the island--the penis of Maur on the front post of the men's house, pointing arrogantly toward Woleai--is a reminder and re-emphasis of the traditional triumph of Ifalik over the neighboring atoll.

The continuing vitality of this aspect of the sentiment of rank was shown by the flurry that attended Spiro's chance remark about the presence of Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik. Without any suggestion from us--at least none that we were aware of--this situation was interpreted as a contest among the islands staged by the Americans. The winning islands would rise in rank, the losing ones would sink. The main thing the Americans wanted of them, so far as the people knew, was cleanliness. This seems to have been the motivation for the first public meeting held during our stay, and the clean-up of the atoll that followed.

Application of the sentiment of rank to Ifalik's acknowledged subordination to Yap, and to the United States, has been considered in the chapter on Foreign Relations. The people seem to 'know their place' and accept it. With regard to Yap, indeed, grumbling is not unknown, as in the song about a hurricane. Another way of getting back at the Yap people, psychologically, for their superior position, may be the prevalent doctrine that Yap men are great liars. The word garpar, name of the village on Yap where the

overlords of Ifalik live, is used as a verb, meaning 'to lie'. We did not hear grumbling about the Americans--of course, we wouldn't. No doubt the people would take satisfaction in ridiculing any stupid or clumsy behavior on the part of Americans; but we saw no instance of this. What we did see was on the other, the positive side. One of the high points of interest in the conversations about the outside world with youths in the canoe-houses was the relative military strength of the world powers. The youths--and at times their elders, too--seemed to revel in our accounts of the size and strength of the United States. Apparently they felt that, belonging in some sense to the American commonwealth, they could share in the glory--or rank--conferred by membership in that mighty nation."

28: Spiro--Il [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 186, 554 Ifalik

"The people are very proud and jealous of their prestige, would often remind me of it. One evening, for example, while talking with a young married man usually ungiven to bravado of any kind, he bragged of Ifaluk superiority, and of the deferential treatment accorded to an Ifalukian who visited another island.

This consciousness of rank extends to their relationship with the outside world as well. As a matter of fact, I first became aware of the importance of rank by an incident that betrayed the people's concern with maintaining their high position in the eyes of the Americans. One evening, while talking with a number of men about what we intended to do during our stay, I mentioned that other islands were being studied by other anthropologists. The men responded as a man: that means that they will have to cooperate with us to the fullest, lest the other anthropologists receive better cooperation, submit superior reports, and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' The men immediately told Tom, our interpreter, to pass this information to the chiefs, and the next day a special meeting of the entire island was convened by the chiefs, and the people instructed to carry out all our demands."

28: Spiro--104 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 857, 573, 186, 591 Ifalik

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

28: Spiro--104 [3]
116, 186, 573, 883

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This pattern of district or island social isolation [WPM: see p. 104, paragraphs 2-3.] is broken at one point--the adolescent males. The girl's mobility, as she grows older is progressively restricted, rather than expanded. As a little girl, she has the range of her district. As she grows older, she is restricted more and more to her home, because of her growing economic and social responsibilities. The boy has little such responsibilities, so that as he gets older, his mobility is not restricted, and he may not only frequent another island or district, but may form close friendships or ties in them. But when he reaches the adult married state, he again remains in his own district."